

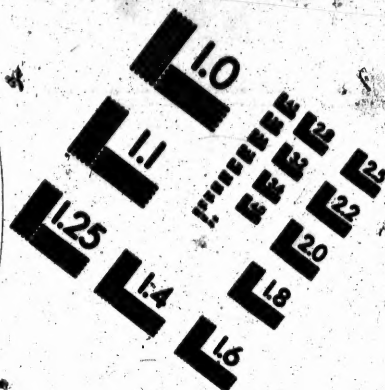
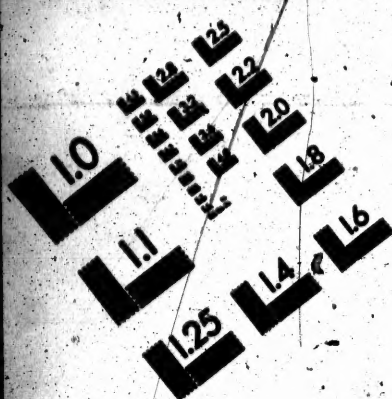


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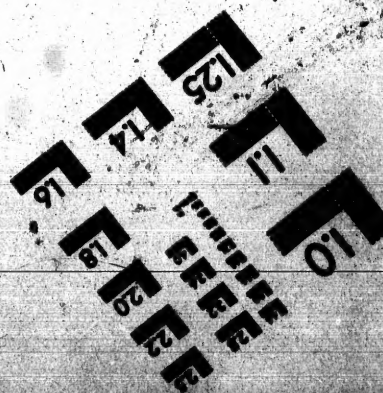
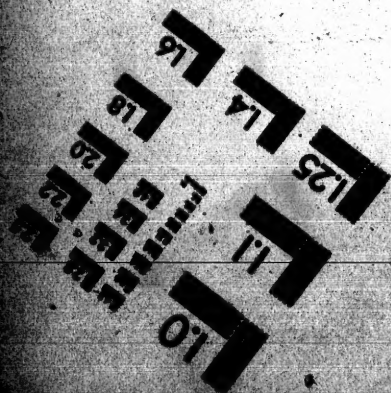
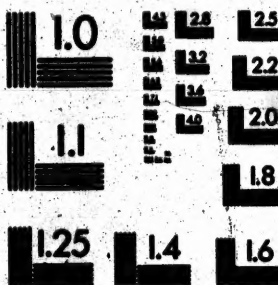
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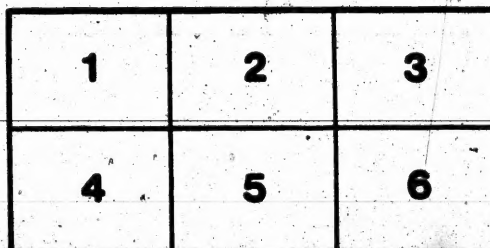
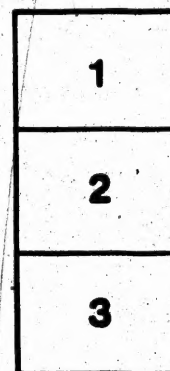
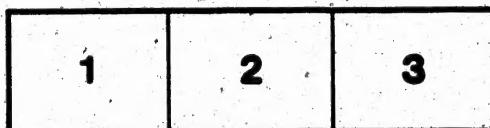
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House of Commons Debates

SPEECH OF

MR. WM. PATERSON, M. P.,

ON THE

BUDGET.

Delivered in the House of Commons at Ottawa, Friday, April 2nd, 1886.

PATERSON (Brant). It has been very pleasant to me to listen to my friend opposite, and to observe the indignation which possessed him against the late Finance Minister. I could hardly find words strong enough to express his opinion of that hon. gentleman of the expressions to which he gave utterance. He seemed to labor under the impression that my hon. friend had, in the remarks he had made, a duty to make on this subject, something that tended to belittle his country, that his object and his aim was to decry the land in which he lived. But my hon. friend has entirely missed the intent and meaning of the speech of the hon. member for Brantford (Mr. Richard Cartwright). When I heard that speech carefully, or when I listened to it attentively, he seemed to me that the hon. member for Brantford spoke of our country as a

good country, as a pleasant country, as a country of great possibilities, and the language of denunciation, when my hon. friend used that language, was not denunciation of the country, but was denunciation of the men who, in such a magnificent country, with such great possibilities before it, had nevertheless so completely paralyzed its energies. The hon. gentleman makes the mistake of supposing that he and his colleagues are the country. Now there never was a greater mistake than that. There was a country here before the hon. gentlemen occupied seats on the Treasury benches. I think there was a country in many respects more prosperous than it has been since they have taken their places there, and when I say that, I speak, of course, comparatively. The hon. gentlemen opposite seem content when they can point to an increase in any particular industry, if they can point to a slight increase in

volume of trade as compared with what it was five, or six, or eight years ago, when my hon. friend was Minister of Finance, they say: See where your statements are. Why, we actually have two or three millions more volume of trade now than we had seven years ago. Do they not know that we, on this side of the House, believe that we have a country that ought to be able to show more than the slight progress that has been made? Sir, we believe that we have a country that should have taken leaps and bounds almost infinitely greater than it has taken under them. Hon. gentlemen opposite think they have fulfilled all the duties of their position, that they deserve credit for well managing the affairs of this country, if they can prevent us going on the down grade—we, with millions and tens of millions of acres of land, inviting settlers of other countries; we, who have spent two or three millions of money in inducing immigrants from other countries to come here! After all this they point to the result of their management for a period of six or seven years, and claim that we have actually maintained our own natural increase in the country. What a great record! how the gentlemen boast! Well, they know they are not capable of much, and they are to be excused for boasting of little. Now let my hon. friend bear that in mind, and all like him on the other side, that when words are spoken here with reference to the position of the country it could not possibly be with the object of damaging the country thereby, but they are spoken with the sole purpose that this country of ours shall have an opportunity of purging itself from the incapables, as we believe them to be, who are administering the affairs of the country, and that other gentlemen should replace them who will take off the fetters that have been placed upon the country, and will give it an opportunity to go forward, not merely holding its own, but leaping forward, as it is calculated to do, this country that, in its proportions, resembles those of a young giant that needs but to be aroused from his slumbers in order to manifest

his strength. That is the position we have, and when we consider that we have not increased more, and when we are forced to point out by common sense that such is the state of the country, it is ever done in the spirit in which the member for South Huron did it, and a spirit more of sorrow than of anger that the country should be thus imposed upon.

The Public Debt.

Well, now I will not attempt to follow my hon. friend in all the statements he has made, but I will touch upon some points he has alluded to, and I think I shall be able to present another view of the question. He has touched upon public debt, has dwelt largely upon that, and has endeavored to controvert the position taken by the hon. member for South Huron. He speaks of our national debt as if it were not a matter of great consequence. He tells us that the interest upon our national debt is not a great deal more now than it was some years ago, and he claims that the reason why we are not paying much more interest now than we did a few years ago, is owing to the excellent management of affairs by the present Government. They take to themselves the whole credit of having reduced the rate of interest throughout the world. Yet, I suppose, hon. gentlemen opposite, although we might suppose from some of their utterances they feigned ignorance, would not care really to admit such ignorance as not to be cognizant of the fact that the rate of interest is low at the present time everywhere. While it must be admitted that such is the case, they have the supreme effrontery to claim it is due to the action of the Government during recent years, whereby a loan can be placed on the money market at a lower rate of interest now than was the case eight or ten years ago. I am not overstating their case. The Finance Minister when speaking on this subject, gave us distinctly to understand that it was due to that cause, and that cause alone; that it was the management of the affairs of the country by hon. gentlemen opposite.

state of affairs; but on to argue, the statistics in support of the fact, that the rate of interest in England had not gone down, therefore, as the rate of interest on our loans had fallen, the interest was due to them. The hon. gentleman ought to tell the House, that the Dominion could borrow money at far less rates than the Dominion, I am sure to say, and that many other nations would be able to do so; but he claimed that the management of the affairs of this country had alone brought about a lower rate of interest. Let us look at the national debt; let us examine where we are. What is the national debt of Canada to-day? We have it in figures given by the Finance Minister, and I have called the attention of the House to them through the House the attention of the country. Our gross debt on 1st March, 1886, was \$281,314,532. But the Finance Minister told us we had to do with the value of \$72,791,837, leaving a net debt of \$208,522,695. Now, I have calculated the per capita amount \$45. The gentleman who preceded me said it was \$40.70. We must have taken a different basis for the calculation, I think.

However, the net debt as given by the Finance Minister was on 1st March, taking the population at 4,700,000 on which all both agree, was equal to about \$45 per head. But in dealing with this debt the members of the House—and I think the members of the House it must be so with the people of the Dominion—are lost in the contemplation of a statement of so much per head as to strike the people as forcibly as to strike another test, to which I now refer myself. There are in many of the counties of Ontario, and I suppose in the provinces, municipal debts. These debts have been incurred for the purpose of building railways through the counties, and the bonuses have been voted, and the interest upon the bonuses are paid year by year, and the burden is felt by the people, and it is thought to be very

heavy. Let me state the amount of debt that this Government has placed upon the counties, and let the people realize the fact that, though they may not realize and fairly appreciate the burden on account of the manner in which the taxes are collected, yet each riding has to pay annually the interest upon, as their share of the public burden, no less than \$988,259. Let each riding in this country remember that this is their share of the public debt, and when I am speaking of that I am speaking of the net debt, and I am for the moment granting, which I do not grant, that the \$72,000,000 are all available and interest bearing assets, which is not the case; but to make my position perfectly impregnable, I take the net debt, giving credit for all assets available and interest bearing, and each riding in the Dominion has a burden upon it, in addition to all other burdens imposed by the municipality itself, of \$988,259. But there are some counties that have two ridings, and on each county large enough to be divided in two, the debt is \$1,976,511, or nearly two millions on every county of two ridings as their share of the Dominion debt, the interest on which has to be toiled for by the people year by year and paid by them into the public treasury. But some of our large counties are divided into three ridings, and on each of those counties—Simcoe, Huron, Bruce, York and others—there is a debt of \$2,964,777. Let hon. gentlemen realize that fact; let them grasp in that form what the public debt of Canada means, and I think when they are next found addressing their constituents they will have to assume an air of greater seriousness in discussing the question. The hon. member for South Huron (Sir Richard Cartwright) said he did not object to expenditure if the money was well expended; and that is the position of the Opposition. If we had as a result of that debt something of value we could show, if the money had all been wisely and properly expended, then, great as the debt is, the development of the country through that money might have been such as to

under the burden easy upon it. But will hon. gentlemen opposite claim that we have incurred all this debt wisely, that we have in the property available a sufficient asset to offset this amount of debt? What have we? We have the Intercolonial Railway, the last speaker told us. We have. Was all the debt for that work well expended? Was there not a remark made by the late Minister of Finance himself on one occasion, that with regard to at least eight millions they might as well have been thrown into the sea, this being one of the results of the management of hon. gentlemen opposite. Has there not been extravagance in almost an endless variety of ways in the construction of that road, and will any one claim that we have sufficient value in that railway to represent all the money we expended on it. We find no fault with the road having been constructed, as it was a necessity; but we claim the road cost more than should have been required to build it, and that it does not represent in its value anything like the cost, and that the increased cost was incurred through the management of hon. gentlemen opposite, who were largely charged with that undertaking. Then we have our canals, as the hon. gentlemen say. And so we have. But hon. gentlemen opposite will regret, with me, that they are not a source of very great revenue to the country; they will regret, with me, that we are not able to avail ourselves of the money invested therein to the extent we might feel justified in expecting. Then, says the hon. gentleman, we have the Canadian Pacific Railway. We have not got the Canadian Pacific Railway—there is just the mistake. The Finance Minister as well as the hon. gentleman who had just taken his seat dwelt with a great deal of enthusiasm upon the completion of that undertaking, and they seek to extol it and to claim that in that we have something which is very much to our benefit, something that worthily represents a large part of the public debt that was incurred in order to build it. I trust that it may be a prosperous undertaking; I trust it may develop

the country. We have got enough for it; we could have had it much cheaper, and I believe we could have had all its advantages without many of the disadvantages which have accompanied its construction. But the money has been expended, and the country has been opened up to that extent by it, and we will only hope that we may reap some benefit from it in the future, that we may receive some recompense. But that does not shut our eyes to the fact that we might have accomplished the work in a much cheaper manner and under conditions which would have left the country freer to go forward in the march of progress.

An hon. MEMBER. Not with a bogus syndicate.

Mr. PATERSON. Not with a bogus syndicate an hon. gentleman tells us. He thus reminds me that at the very inception of this enterprise millions of dollars of public money, and millions of acres of public land were thrown away. He reminds me that if we had adopted the Government plan, prior to engaging the services of a company, if we are to take the statement of Sir Charles Tupper, who was then Minister of Railways, and the figures of the right hon. First Minister, we might have had the road built for millions less than we paid for it. If those statements and figures are to be relied on, we could have built the road and paid for it out of the proceeds of the lands sold up to 1890. The hon. gentleman, who has made the remarks about the bogus syndicate, has simply reminded the House how exceedingly good a bargain we made with this company, and I think, if he is candid, he will admit that we did not better ourselves much as the work progressed. We see, at the rate, that the public debt has mounted to such a figure that it behoves us to exercise the greatest caution as to how it shall be increased in the future. But let us consider the

Annual Expenditure.

The Minister of Finance will have

But the hon. gentleman has followed to-day, has followed much attention to it, and he has done it by very briefly. He has not been cognizant of the fact that we have arrived at a time, in the administration of our affairs, when deficits are not unusual. It was not a pleasant subject for him who, in days gone by, so derided the Minister of Finance at that time, when, unfortunately, under a low rate of taxation, he was unable to make both ends meet. But what is the position of our finances, now with reference to our annual receipts and expenditures? Why, we find from the Public Accounts which are now before us, that we have for the fiscal year 1885, which is fully closed, an expenditure of over \$35,000,000, with receipts of less than \$32,000,000. We have the fact that hon. gentlemen opposite were unable, with all the excessive taxation they have levied on the people of this country, to make both ends meet, and they stand in their places today confessing to a deficit of \$2,240,000. This, after all their boasts of their superior management; this, after the years of their surpluses; this, after their boasts of being able so to regulate our affairs and finances of the country that deficits would be things which would never be heard of in the land. And they say that this state of things is only for one year? No, I am sorry to say that the financial year of 1886, which is not fully completed, the estimate of receipts and expenditures of that year has been given to us by the Finance Minister himself, and what is the tale they tell? He says he estimates that our receipts will be \$32,560,000, and that our expenditure will be \$38,800,000. It is seven years since they last closed their open office, and our expenditure was from about \$24,000,000, until the Finance Minister told us that at the close of 1885 it will amount to \$38,800,000. These are the gentlemen who boast that they had the power, and that they would govern Canada, and that they would govern Canada with less money than was

required by the late Finance Minister, and they sit in their places to-day with almost every promise they made to the people of this country violated; with almost every pledge broken, unable to point to scarce a single thing they have done which has really been in the interests of the country or for which they can claim the slightest credit. No, there they are; the country is rushing headlong into debt and they are unable to keep their expenditure within their income, but they leave us with their anticipated deficit this year amounting to \$4,250,000 as stated by the Finance Minister himself. O! but he is going to ease us in this, and how is he going to do it? Well, he is just going to take \$3,500,000 of this deficit and charge it to

Capital Account,

and he is thus going to reduce the deficit to \$1,450,000. Will placing it to capital account pay it? We generally supposed that what is placed to capital account is something for which we have assets to show; but what assets will we have for this \$3,500,000? A partially blackened and ruined country, graves on the western prairie, the smoke of gun-powder, one or two knight-hoods; and for this the people of the country are to have \$3,500,000 added to their debt. There is remarkable consistency, however, in the hon. Finance Minister's treatment of this question to which I desire to call your attention. If you remember, he made rather a remarkable speech in the absence of the late Finance Minister, on the 28th of June last, in reply to a speech made on this side by the hon. member for South Huron (Sir Richard Cartwright), who moved against the gross extravagance of the Government. The hon. member for South Huron pointed out thus early that at the rate the Government was proceeding a very great deficit was staring us in the face, and that it would be inevitable. The hon. Finance Minister, in replying to that remark, said that the hon. member for South Huron had confused up a capital

is viewed it as simply an idea that was flying round in the brain of the hon. member for South Huron. But he said, even if it be true that there should be a deficit, the wedding bells are sounding, orange blossoms are being worn, and love is being made in the snows of winter and the sunshine of summer, and by-and-bye new homes will be starting up; by-and-bye new cradles will find their way to those new homes, to add to the 200,000 cradles that are now being rocked in this Dominion; and the occupants of these cradles will grow to manhood and womanhood, and they will bend their energies to the development of this country, and help to pay the deficit which has been conjured up by the hon. member for South Huron. I say the Finance Minister has been consistent. I do not know whether he over-estimated the number of babies or not, but at any rate he has found out that that deficit was not conjured up in the brain of the hon. member for South Huron. He is face to face with it as an actual fact, and how is he going to proceed? Precisely as he gave us to understand in June last; \$3,500,000 of it is to be charged to the 200,000 cradles that are now being rocked throughout the Dominion. We of this generation will have to toil to pay the interest on it, and the generation, I will not say yet unborn, but the generation newly born, will rise up to bless him when they come to pay the principal. Such is the state of our finances under the management of these hon. gentlemen. I have not time to go into the details of this expenditure, as short speeches are to be the order from this time forth, and I must set an example in that respect. I have no time to show the increase for instance, in the cost of civil government, with regard to which hon. gentlemen opposite were so loud in their denunciations when they sat on this side of the House. But I will take the item of

Immigration,

and I charge the Ministers of the day with having been utterly reckless in their

expenditure of money for that purpose. I charge them with having squandered millions of the people's money without achieving any good result whatever. I do it in the same spirit as the hon. member for South Huron (Sir Richard Cartwright)—a spirit more of sorrow than of anger. I should rejoice if they could show some result from the expenditure of that money; but take the census returns prepared by hon. gentlemen opposite—not American statistics, but their own figures, and what do we find? Why, in this Canada of ours, which ought to be able to retain its own population within its borders, we find that during the last six years, when we ought to have had a natural increase of 3 per cent. per annum on a moderate estimate, we had only an increase of about 1½ per cent.; and to achieve that result we spent, during those six years, \$2,403,266. So that all the immigrants whom we have brought into the country have displaced native-born Canadians, or have left the country, and a portion of our natural increase has gone with them. That is the result that the hon. gentlemen opposite have been able to show from an expenditure of two millions and a half of our money. Now I have stated what the immigration returns show we have got for this expenditure. We are in a position to speak a little more definitely this year than we have been hitherto with regard to the increase of population in the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. Hitherto we have had to rely on estimated figures made by the Department of Agriculture which the Minister pledged to be correct. To-day we stand in the light of revealed facts ascertained by actual count in the country, and what do we find? I am sorry to say that the facts reveal a state of things which hon. gentlemen opposite in common with hon. gentlemen on this side of the House must regret. I say we have definite figures, because the Minister of Agriculture in answer to a question the other day, stated that the population of Manitoba was now 125,000. The hon. member for South Huron (Sir Richard Cartwright)

for that purpose, having expended money without result whatever. I as the hon. member Sir Richard Cartwright, of sorrow than of relief if they could the expenditure of the census returns gentlemen opposite—s, but their own find? Why, in which ought to be population within during the last ought to have had a per cent. per annum we had only an per cent.; and to ve spent, during 1866. So that all we have brought displaced native left the country, natural increase has is the result that opposite have been expenditure of two our money. Now, at the immigrants have got for are in a position definitely this year herto with regard lation in the Pro the North-West we have had to s made by the De re which the Mi- rect. To day we vealed facts about it in the country. I am sorry to see a state of things opposite in commu this side of the ay we have defin- nister of Agricul- question, the ope- lation of Man- The hon. mem- Sir Richard Cart-

1866), when he made his speech, gave an authority which he thought was a good authority, for the statement that the population of that Province was 110,000; but I take the Minister's statement of 135,000, which formed the basis for an arrangement between the Dominion and that Province, and which I will therefore assume is correct. Then, we learn, by actual count, that the three districts of the North-West contain 48,363 souls; so that the total population in Manitoba and the three districts of the North-West, including Indians, is 173,363. Now, according to the census of 1881, the population of that country was 122,400. What is the result? In five years the population of our whole North-West and the Province of Manitoba has increased just 50,968 souls. That is the result of five years' labor; that is the result of the expenditure of nearly two millions and a half of dollars to promote immigration; that is the result of giving away tens of millions of dollars to aid the Canadian Pacific Railway;—a poor 50,968 extra souls above what were there in 1881 when the census was taken. Now, I want to call the attention of the Minister of Agriculture to this. He should not be guilty of submitting reports to this House that are not correct; I think that is not asking too much of him; yet the various reports which he has submitted to us year by year show that the number of settlers who went into Manitoba and the North-West between 1881 and 1885 were 154,403, and there were already there at the time the census was taken 122,400. Now, if the reports submitted to the House by the head of that Department are correct, and they ought to be, we should have 276,803; and what number have we? By actual count, by the statements of the hon. gentleman opposite, we have 173,363. No less than 103,440 alleged by them to have gone into the North-West cannot be found there. Where are they? Why, Sir, are we not forced to the conclusion that the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite, their management of North-West affairs, has resulted from the sparse population of that

territory over 103,000 souls within the past five years! They must take one horn or the other of the dilemma; they have either driven that number of people out of the country, or the reports they have submitted to this House have been false and misleading. The Minister of Agriculture is bound to account for these 103,440 people. But, Sir, have we any means of ascertaining what population we ought to have had in that country at this time? We have. In 1880 the First Minister gave us a calculation of the settlers we might expect to go there. He gave us a table showing that there were to be 30,000 in 1881, and 5,000 additional in each year afterwards; so that by the end of 1885 there would, according to his calculation, have gone into that country 200,000 souls. Now, those 200,000 souls—and it was a moderate estimate on his part—added to the 122,000 there, when the census was taken, would have made 322,000 souls, while we have actually only 173,363 there. The First Minister thought this estimate was under the mark, judging by the experience of the Western States, when he said that in 1885, 50,000 settlers would go into that country. How many actually went in? The Minister of Agriculture gave us the figures the other day in reply to an hon. gentleman opposite him, and they were 7,240 souls. In this way have the predictions of hon. gentlemen opposite in reference to the settlement of that country been verified; and I say there is no more discouraging feature in our country to-day than to look at the expenditure of money for immigration purposes and the railway expenditure in that country, and then to find, that in that fertile, that magnificent country, that country unexcelled by the Western States, we can only see a paltry addition of 50,000 people to the population as the result of five years' work. After recess I shall be able to show by the First Minister's own statement, the relative increases in the various Western States; and when the House witnesses the increase of population which has taken place in those States under precisely similar

circumstances to those in our own country, the sorrow and regret they must feel now will be greatly enhanced when they consider the great facilities we have had for opening up that country, and how utterly we have failed, from the incapacity and mismanagement of the gentlemen who occupy the Treasury benches.

It being six o'clock, the Speaker left the Chair.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). When the House rose at 6 o'clock, I was pointing out what could not fail to be a matter of regret to the House, that we have only succeeded, during the past five years, in settling some 50,000 more people in the North-West Territories and in Manitoba. I had mentioned that an estimate as to the probable immigration to that country was made by the Premier in 1880. If I refer to the growth of some of the Western States, I will not be liable to the charge of want of patriotism, or of comparing ourselves with those States with a view to disparage our own country, because I shall but give the figures that were given to the House by the First Minister himself. The figures that he gave to us at that time, when he sought to justify his anticipation that 200,000 would have entered that country by the year 1885, were based upon the fact of the increase of the population of many of the States. He gave the increase and enumerated among the States, Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri and Kansas. Now, the area of those States combined is something like the area of Manitoba and the three north-western districts. The increase in the States that I have just mentioned was given to us by the First Minister as having taken place between the years 1850 and 1860, and was stated to be 2,555,000, that is, a territory in the United States was in ten years populated with 2,555,000, while we, with a territory as large, with a country as fertile, with facilities and opportunities

equal to theirs, have succeeded in five years of placing 50,000 people in the same extent of territory. It may be said, however, that the 2,555,000 represented ten years, and so it did, while I am comparing a period of five years with reference to our population. And it may be said not to be fair to take one-half of the 2,555,000 as the gain that we might reasonably expect there, inasmuch as there would be the natural increase during the past five years, and I quite recognise that fact. But I think I am wholly within the mark if I say we might fairly expect to have had within the five years placed one-quarter the amount that was placed in the same area in the United States in ten years. Had we done that, had we placed one-quarter only in the five years, we should have had 638,750 people there instead of 50,000.

Mr. HESSON. We had not the same population to draw from.

Mr. PATERSON. Why, the hon. member knows that we have been told time and again that the United States are availing themselves of our territory in the North-West, that their people are flocking into our country. He knows that our lands there are thrown open, and we invite not only the inhabitants of the United States but of every civilised country on the globe, and under these circumstances we have succeeded in putting 50,000 people into an area in which the Americans, estimating for them a period of five years also, would have put 638,750. Well, now, we were told by the hon. gentleman who preceded me that it was an unfair comparison to make, because there were greater facilities for settlement in the Western States, which offered greater advantages. I recognise that, but I direct attention to the fact that this increase in the States I have mentioned took place between the years 1850 and 1860. Going back in the history of the Western States 35 years, we may ask if there were superior facilities for settlement than there are in the North-West to day.

circumstances in that respect are equal; if not equal, they ought to be in our favor. May this matter challenge the attention of the House and the country. With a climate as good as a large portion of the United States, to which I have already alluded, as capable of being worked to profit by the husbandman, there must be some reason why we have failed to approximate what was done in the United States. Will the hon. gentleman charge that upon the Opposition, who, in their opinion, are powerful for evil, but never powerful for good? Hon. gentlemen opposite claim credit for the prosperity which they profess to see in the country, and for any advantages gained; therefore we place on them the responsibility of populating the plains of the North-West, and I ask from them an explanation as to how it is that while the United States, during five years, put 600,000 people into the same extent of territory, we have only succeeded in putting 50,000 in the North-West, though we have completed a railway costing tens of millions and spent millions of dollars to promote immigration to that country. The whole figures given by the Government in regard to the estimated population of the North-West have been misleading. In the light of the public statistics, the Customs Department, as well as the Department of Agriculture, is blameworthy. Hon. members will find in the Trade and Navigation Returns evidence of an attempt by the Minister of Customs to reduce the amount of Custom duties paid per head by the people of the North-West, in order that the people might not understand and know the amount of the taxation. How did he accomplish this result? The population of 173,000 which we find in Manitoba and the North-West in 1885, the Minister assumed to be 145,000 a year ago, and he based the rate of taxation by way of Customs duties on that population. The result of this calculation was to reduce the amount of Customs duties paid per head, and yet the rate was 23 per cent. more paid per head under his Administration in 1885.

than in 1878. In 1884 there was 10 per cent. and in the year previous, 15 per cent. additional duty paid by every inhabitant of the Dominion. Thus we find that when it suits the purpose of hon. gentlemen opposite, they enlarge the population of this Dominion in order to make it appear that the burden per head is much less than is really the case. I must now pass from this subject and touch for a moment upon

The Volume of Trade

in this country. The hon. member who preceded me found great fault with the member for South Huron (Sir Richard Cartwright), because he pointed out that the volume of trade in 1885, under the management of hon. gentlemen opposite, did not equal the volume of trade in 1878, and he said that was unfair and a deliberate attempt to mislead the House and the public. Why did the hon. gentleman, he said, not take 1876-77, and he would see the volume of trade had increased from that year to 1885 by some \$30,000,000. True, the hon. member for South Huron (Sir Richard Cartwright) did not take that year; true, there was some increased volume of trade between 1876-77 and 1885. But the hon. gentleman who found fault with the hon. member for South Huron knew he was taking a year which was almost a famine year in Canada, that he was taking 1876 when the wheat crop failed for once in Canadian history, and I believe only once, and we had actually to import bread to feed our own people; he was taking a year when trade was paralysed, when our lumbering interests were paralysed on account of the state of trade in the United States, which are our greatest customers, a year which was one of the dulllest in trade not only in this country but almost in the world, to show that we have increased our volume of trade, imports and exports, by \$30,000,000. The hon. member for South Huron did perfectly right. He was pointing out to the House that fact. That we had not realized

year after 1878 as large a volume of trade as we had in that year, and looking at 1876-77 does not alter the aspect of the question. It is a grave matter for the consideration of the people, no matter what intervening years there have been, that in 1885 under the management of hon. gentlemen opposite the volume of Canadian trade is nearly \$20,000,000 less than it was twelve years ago. And yet hon. gentlemen opposite talk about the promising prosperity of the country. The figures are eloquent to speak for themselves; I would they were not eloquent in pointing out in a clear manner that, instead of there being prosperity, there is a condition approaching stagnation in trade. The hon. member for Cardwell (Mr. White) did not allude to a certain other matter to which I desire to refer, but it was incidentally touched upon by the Finance Minister in his speech. It is rather amusing that it did not receive attention because hon. gentleman opposite know and you, Mr. Speaker, will remember how several years ago they were enforcing the great importance of maintaining a

Balance of Trade

in our favor, and pointing out what a fearful thing it would be if the balance of trade should happen to turn against us. It did so in the days of the hon. member for South Huron and brought us nearly to the verge of ruin, as they aver. One of the principal arguments used by them was that they would prevent the imports from exceeding the exports; they said to the people: "If we are placed in office we will stop that and equalise the imports and exports." They did not do it. But under their management the hard times of 1879 struck the country, and I beg to remind the hon. gentlemen that that was the worst year in Canadian history, and public affairs were under the control of hon. gentlemen opposite and the National Policy was in force; at that time land, stocks, cotton cloths, and all investments were at the lowest point. While I

say they were not able to control the balance of trade, the hard times that existed in 1879 were unparalleled in the history of the country and unequalled by the dullest times under the Mackenzie Government. It appears that one year afterwards the Government were unable to make the balance of trade agree and we exported \$1,500,000 more than we imported. It will be remembered how that year we had the true causes of prosperity pointed out, and how that prosperity was going to be maintained. What was the result? Next year trade began to improve somewhat, and whether they had lost the secret of maintaining an equilibrium I cannot tell, but they had a balance of trade against them, that fearful thing which prevailed when the hon. member for South Huron (Sir Richard Cartwright), was in office, the amount reaching \$7,000,000; in 1882 it rose to \$17,000,000; 1883 it broke loose and went up to \$84,000,000; in 1884 it was \$25,000,000, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Government; in 1885 it was \$20,000,000; and for the months which have elapsed in 1886 the balance is still against us, and so it goes. Sir Leonard Tilley declared in one of his speeches that as soon as a man's expenditure increased beyond his income poverty stared him in the face. So if you had an adverse balance of trade against you, poverty will stare them in the face. That was the principle upon which they worked; that was the principle they laid down, and I ask them how they can, in the face of that declaration, reconcile these statements with the fact that the balance of trade against them have aggregated in the space of five years the sum of \$108,000,000. With reference to the balance of trade being against us, I would point out that the average annual balance of trade against us for the five years of these gentlemen actually exceeds the annual average of the balance of trade against us ever since Confederation, taking the figures of the Minister of Customs himself. The average in all the years since Confederation has been \$29,096,655, while the average annual balance against us during the past five years

has been \$63,660,000. I see my hon. friend from South Essex (Mr. Wigle) looks rather thoughtful about this, and I have no doubt he gave very learned lectures about the balance of trade, and how impossible it would be for a country to prosper with the balance of trade against us. I call his attention to the figures which I have given as showing the condition of things into which we have been brought by hon gentlemen opposite. I now wish to draw your attention for a moment to the

State of Trade

in the country. We have had statements made by the hon. gentleman who preceded me, as well as by the Finance Minister, with reference to the state of trade. They have been forced to admit that it is not quite as satisfactory as it should be, but still, they say it is in a better condition than it was a few years ago. Well, as I said before, we do look for some improvement; we do look for the natural increase of our population. It is not to be thought a very wonderful thing that we can hold our own and prevent ourselves from going back in a country like this. But what I want to point out to the hon. gentleman is this fact, with reference to the manufacturers of this country, that they have heralded so loudly, have been benefitted so much by the operation of their tariff—I ask them to look at the effects of that tariff on the export of manufactured goods, and to tell me and tell the country whether our export trade is in the healthy condition that we would like to see it. What is the condition of things with reference to the export of manufactured goods? Sir, it is not encouraging. I can remember that in 1878, Canada occupied rather a proud position as a manufacturing country, for so young a nation. I can remember that our exports of manufactured goods equalled some \$1,000,000. I can remember that we took a position at the exhibition at Philadelphia that challenged the admiration

of the world. So at the exhibition of the Australian colonies, and I know as a result of that enterprise, a volume of trade with these colonies sprang up in Canadian manufactured goods. Now we have a tariff which hon. gentlemen opposite boasted was designed to have a beneficial effect upon the manufactures of this country, but where are your exports of manufactured goods to-day? Are you exporting as many to-day as you did in 1878. No. Have you exported as many since the tariff was put in operation, as you did before? No; the decrease has been great and marked. We are exporting about 25 per cent. less to-day than we did in 1878, and still they claim that they have conferred inestimable advantages upon us by their tariff. Look at some of the items. In the important item of agricultural implements, we exported \$63,861 less last year than we did in 1878. Biscuits—thousands of dollars less; candles and soap—less; carriages—\$40,000 less; clothing—nearly \$10,000 less; glass and glassware, grindstones, pig iron—a decrease; leather, \$144,000 less, and it is one of the largest exports we had. Boots and shoes were a great manufacture, but we exported \$166,000 less in 1885 than we did in 1878. Oil cake—a great reduction; ships sold to other countries \$971,000 less than in 1878. Why, we all remember that the late Minister of Railways, Sir Charles Tupper, when he was sitting in Opposition to the Mackenzie Administration, pointed out the declining state of the shipping trade, the deserted shipyards, and we remember how he asked that he might be restored to office that the pound of the hammer might be heard once more in these deserted shipyards. How is it now? Of ships sold to foreign countries, there were nearly \$1,000,000 less last year than there were in the year when he lamented the way in which the Mackenzie Administration was treating that industry. Steel manufacturers—decreasing. But I need not go over the list only to say that there is \$1,500,000 decrease in the items I have given. true there are some increases

woollen goods, furniture, woodenware, instead of hemlock bark, &c. We have had some increases, but the sum total of our exports shows that we were only able in 1885 to export \$3,181,500 worth, while in 1878 we exported \$4,127,755 worth. And, Sir, with that state of thing staring us in the face, we have the Finance Minister taking four or five hours to speak about the financial condition of the country, but did he give us one practical hint how we should arrange matters so that the foreign trade of this country might be developed? We have a period of stagnation in our midst; we have factories and we have skilled artisans, but has there been any proposition on his part to open up markets for our goods elsewhere, to enable us to export our manufactured goods to other countries so that our artisans may have employment? Why, Sir, in the Estimates last year, they asked for \$10,000 to establish commercial agencies. What was done with that money? They made the statement that it was intended to open up a market and help the export trade of our manufactured goods. Were there any commercial agents appointed and if so, at what points? Has any efforts been made with other countries to extend our trade? What has been done? The Finance Minister is mute. He sees our export trade is declining; he asks for this money to establish commercial agencies, but what have they done? He is silent on that question, and while he talked on many other things we failed to hear him say that he had any remedy. Sir, we want our export trade opened up; we want to have the markets of other nations, and we want him to take steps to secure them. If he wants the export trade developed, and if he maintains the tariff as it now exists, and if he persists in taxing the raw material, in making the manufactured products of this country higher in price, and if he will not give the drawbacks which he promised to those who are manufacturing and exporting to other countries, I tell him he will kill the export trade we have. He cannot remove these drawbacks, and yet when

claims are lodged in the Department and parties ask for these drawbacks, they are met with technical objections; they are put off and their trade is dying away. In my own city, we have as enterprising a firm as there is in the Dominion. At their own expense, they exhibited at the different international exhibitions; they have sent agents to Russia, Hungary, Austria, Chili, in South America, and opened up a trade with these countries. They did it alone and unaided; Canada had no agents in those countries, and they had to seek the help of the British Ministers, and as a young man, a member of that firm, who was over there told me, he sought the aid of the British Minister to help him in opening a market for his goods; he was met very kindly and courteously as any one is sure to be met by an English gentleman. But he was also given to understand by the British Minister that Canada had imposed a tariff, and a heavy tariff, upon goods from Britain as well as from every other country—that while he be glad to aid a Canadian if he could without jeopardising British interests yet he could readily see that his interest would not be to put Canadian manufactured goods into competition with British manufactured goods. Thus the exporter was left to struggle alone. Although they did open up a market in Chili, and are trying to hold it, yet whenever they present their bill of drawbacks made under the law of the land, they are met with technical objections, that they do not comply with the law; and when they say it is beyond the bounds of possibility to comply with the law, then there is a hitch. Thus our export trade is dying and languishing, and there is no help for it. The manufacturers do not ask a helping hand; they only ask that the law should not fetter them, and they do not get even that. I think the figures are eloquent; and if a few of the hon. gentlemen opposite who have spoken on this subject had devoted their time to the subject of how to increase the export trade of this country and thus give employment to the artisans who are manu-

...and they are they drying have in the they al ex- Rus South e with ne and these ne help young no was the aid him in ne was as any h gen- under Can- heavy well as ile he could erests terest manu- with s the Al- Chili, never backs y are they when pos- there e is e's no not that they for the oken s to port on- can-

...it would have been time ago; but the hon. gentleman who has preceded me, when he spoke before, pointed out that we were not exporting because the people were all manufacturing for the home market, but unfortunately that is the case, and I will prove it by showing the

Imports

...those very articles which we are manufacturing for the home market, have been more numerous in 1885 than they were in 1878, which is proof positive that the manufacturer of those goods has not the home market in 1885 to the same extent that he had in 1878. Take the article of boots and shoes. It is true, that in that year we imported in 1878 \$49,838 worth more than we did in 1885; but certainly that does not come up to the amount of the decline in the export trade. Therefore, it is not the increased home market which has prevented our being able to manufacture boots and shoes to send abroad. Of carriages, we imported \$65,000 worth more in 1885 than we did in 1878; the carriage makers, therefore, have not had an increased home market. It is not the reason they have been unable to export as many carriages in 1885 as they did in 1878. Take leather, an important item the export of which, as I have told you, has increased, and we find that the imports increased \$420,000 in 1885 over 1878. Take sewing machines, that large and prosperous industry. When two or three years ago I pointed out how that country was suffering, I remember how the gentleman who has preceded me addressed himself with a letter from a sewing-machine manufacturer in Montreal, which he read with great gusto to the House, and which stated that the policy of the Government had given great help to the trade, and that the writer was employing more hands and working over time. What is to-day the state of the sewing-machine industry, which, in days gone by, had employed thousands of hands

in the country? The tale is a lamentable one. In the year 1885 we imported 7,671 machines, at a value of \$169,146, whereas in 1878 we imported 6,806 machines at a value of \$101,404; so that in the year 1885 we actually imported, under this tariff that was to give the home market to the manufacturer, no less than 1,863 machines more than we imported in 1878, at a value of \$67,742, and many machine operatives in the country are out of work—why? Because the manufacturers have a profitable export trade? No, I am sorry to say. In the year 1878 they had, but in 1885 they have not been manufacturing, but have been idle. The figures of exports tell the tale. In 1878, whilst supplying the home market to a greater extent than we are doing now, we exported 30,429 machines at a value of \$278,258, a magnificent export in that one line of manufactured goods. That was the condition that industry was in before these hon. gentlemen attained power. But since they have been in power, under their blighting influence, or from some other cause—and if they claim the credit for everything that is better, they must be debited with what is worse—instead of exporting 30,000 machines in the year 1885, we exported 9,418 machines; and instead of getting \$273,000 of foreign gold brought into the country as the result of the sale, we brought \$69,235. Such is the condition of that trade under these hon. gentlemen.

Mr. HESSON. Will you say there is a less number of machines made?

Mr. PATERSON. Well, I do think this would rather indicate it.

Mr. HESSON. It indicates our people are using them in the country.

Mr. PATERSON. There is a larger import in 1885 than in 1878, and there is a smaller export. It seems to me this rather points in the direction that there is a less number made in the country. What would the hon. gentleman say

about it if he were at liberty to speak? The Finance Minister dwelt upon the tariff like tariff has been to the farmers. I will touch that later on, but in the mean time there is an industry which concerns the farmers as well as the manufacturers, to which I wish to refer. I mean the

Flour Industry,

which comes next in importance, and in the amount of capital it employs and in its output, to the saw milling industry. We used to hear moaning and wailing because American flour was consumed by Canadians, and the Government asked that a duty should be put on the American flour in order that our people should be compelled to buy Canadian flour made out of Canadian wheat. Have we accomplished that? In 1878 we imported of American flour 314,620 barrels. Then the Government put on their tariff of 50 cents a barrel to prohibit that coming in, and, notwithstanding that in 1885 we imported 540,108 barrels of American flour, or 225,588 barrels more than in 1878. Was that to the benefit of the farmers? Did that benefit the Canadian miller? Then they were going to benefit the coal industry. What has been the result of their efforts in that direction, in which they claim a great deal of credit? Let us take, first, the importations of

Coal and Coke,

and what do we find? In 1885, we imported 1,953,948 tons; in 1878, we imported 896,446 tons, making an increased import of coal in 1885 over 1878 of 1,057,502 tons; or, in other words, we have an increased import of 118 per cent. on coal in 1885 over 1878. Yet hon. gentlemen designed their tariff to shut out this importation altogether, in order that our people would have to get their coal from the Maritime Provinces. What has been the case with reference to the export trade? The increased importation would not matter so much, if our

mines in the east were enabled, in a peculiar way, through the operation of the tariff, to export their output; but in 1885 we find that they exported 479,000 tons, and, in 1878, they exported 367,127 tons. Thus, we had an increased export of coal in 1885 over 1878 of 111,873 tons to set off against the increased import of 1,057,502 tons. In other words, our imports increased 118 per cent., while our exports increased but 31 per cent.; and thus it is they have benefitted our coal industry. Now, although this duty on flour and this duty on coal have failed to accomplish what hon. gentleman said they would, they have not failed in one respect. They had given the Government an amount of revenue, for there was paid, by way of taxes on coal, in 1885, \$1,072,161, and by way of duty on flour, in 1885, \$378,054; or a total duty on flour and coal amounting to \$1,450,215. Now, had these gentlemen, with their \$4,900,000 deficit, place the tariff as it was placed by the hon. member for South Huron (Mr. Richard Cartwright). If their flour and coal duties were wiped out, we would have, instead of a deficit of \$5,000,000 for 1886, a deficit of \$6,300,000; but even after having taxed everything they can lay their hands on, they have saddled this country with a deficit greater by far double any that was ever known in the darkest administration of that hon. gentleman whom they so much revile for his departmental mismanagement, as they are pleased to term it.

Mr. HESSON. What about duty on tea and coffee?

Mr. PATERSON. My hon. friend is moaning again. To pass from the matter hastily, I come next to notice in a few moments the proposed

Tariff Changes.

There is something that cannot fail to strike one with reference to these changes. It seems to me that the Finance Minister—I wish he were present, that he

in order that I may be successful with him for the future, that are being rocked in these cradles—300,000—it seems to me it is a burden that they should be held responsible for this deficit to the extent of \$500,000, to meet which they will have to wait when they grow to manhood and womanhood, without inflicting on them the burden while yet in their cradles. How pitiable must the strait be in which the Finance Minister finds himself when, in addition to compelling them to shoulder this burden when they reach mature age, he actually, while they are sleeping peacefully in their cradles, according to his graphic description of last year, increases the taxes on the toys and playthings these little ones have. Even these childish playthings are not exempt from the hand which a remorseless fate compels him to stretch out and tax everything it can grasp, in order that he may reduce somewhat his deficit. After taxing flour and coal and leaving a part of the deficit to be paid by those children when they reach maturity, he goes to work and adds to the playthings already covered with a 20 per cent. duty, 10 per cent, in order that the poor little creatures may feel the burden in their cradles. He has adjusted the

Sugar Duty.

We will discuss that matter more particularly in committee, when we will get some information from the hon. gentleman as to how he considers his new arrangement will work. I, looking at the matter, and subject to revising my judgment when we have more information from the hon. gentleman, and time to examine more closely in the committee, incline to this view, that he has materially enhanced the duty on sugar. My impression is he may secure something like \$500,000 extra duty out of it, and while he has done that, he will also compel the consumer, great as was the amount of duty he paid on that article before, to pay more actually in the shape of bounties to a few refiners in this

country. So that as it may, Canadian American granulated sugar was taxed before to the extent of 96 per cent, now—well, I have figured it out correctly and it intends to exact a duty on American granulated on the long instead of the short price, which is, I suppose, his intention, and which, I suppose, if the refiners ask him to do he will do—the duty on American granulated sugar coming into this country, under this tariff as now arranged, will be more than 100 per cent; and the people can have some idea of what they are paying towards the taxes of the country on that one article. Yet, I suppose I will find gentlemen here who will not hesitate to risk the statement that sugar is as cheap as ever.

Mr. HESSON. Hear, hear.

Mr. PATERSON. A gentleman opposite says "hear, hear," and he is one of the gentlemen I would expect to hear it from, and he is about the only gentleman. What has the question of whether sugar or any other article is cheaper now than it was seven or eight years ago to do with the question? Do not values rise and fall? That has nothing to do with it, but the question the people are interested in is: If that duty were wiped off American granulated, they would get it at one-half the price than they can under the tariff. Hon. gentlemen have spoken of the effect of their policy upon the

Working Classes.

They claim the working classes have been greatly benefitted by the introduction of their tariff. The Finance Minister also made that claim; and in order to strengthen himself with reference to it, he was bold enough to do what no other hon. gentleman in this House has ventured to do since the Budget speech was made last year, so far as my recollection goes. We had a long Session, yet, if I remember right, the Finance Minister (Sir Leonard Stoll) last year was the only gentleman in this House that ever dared to refer to the

statistics he had compiled, through the agency of two gentlemen, in order to show that our manufactures had increased. He did venture; but when once they were dissected and shown to be utterly fallacious, they were dropped by every hon. gentleman, and no one ever ventured to allude to them until the Finance Minister of to-day (Mr. McLelan), in a moment of dire necessity, alluded to them. Are we to accept those statistics, prepared at the cost of thousands of dollars to the country last year, and which were conclusively proved to be utterly unreliable, wholly false and misleading? Was it not pointed out last year with reference to these statistics, that actually they gave an increased product of woollen goods amounting to several million dollars, while the import of raw material was actually less than it was in 1878. When these things were pointed out, when it was shown, by the importation of the raw material, that it was impossible to have had the extra amount of goods manufactured which they alleged to have been made in the country, that was abandoned, and it remained abandoned until the Finance Minister saw fit again to introduce it here, and he based upon it a calculation that we had so many more workers in the country because of those fallacious statements which were previously made, and of which I believe even the compilers were ashamed, that we had some 35,000 more workers in consequence of this policy. The hon. gentleman expressed regret that he had not had time to obtain further statistics. Well, it is to be regretted, no doubt, but he had statistics from one manufactory; he fortified his statements by statistics supplied by one cotton company, the Canada Cotton Company. I admire the shrewdness of some manufacturers in this country. I have known the case of a sewing machine manufacturer who availed himself of the present Minister of the Interior two or three years ago to advertise his resources and to tell the country how successful his business was; and here we have the Canada Cotton Company

managing to secure the assistance of the Minister of Finance to state that the output is so much greater than it was, wonder if they have any stock to sell; wonder if they have any to dispose of; and whether the Finance Minister is lending his aid to this end. I might ask how it is that the hon. gentleman gave us a comparison only of the last six months of 1885, with the last six months of 1878. Why did he not give us the whole year? It may be all right, but it looks rather fishy. Surely it would have been just as easy to give us the comparison for the whole year as to give us the comparison for six months. Can it be possible that in the first six months the mill was shut down or was running with less hands? I do not say that it was. It may be all right. They may have done the increased business all through the year, but I think it would have struck the House as more fair and reasonable if we had had the comparison for the whole year instead of for the last six months only. And these are the proofs we have given to us that the mechanics of this country have been so greatly benefited by the operation of the tariff. Further, it is denied by the Finance Minister, and it is also denied by the hon. gentleman who preceded me, that the cost of living has been in any way enhanced by the operation of this tariff. We have been told time and again by these gentlemen that things are not dearer in Canada than they are in the neighboring Republic, that they cost no more here than they do across the border. That may be true. I am not in a position to say, or rather I will not assume to say, that it is not true, but I would like to ask the Minister of Customs one question. If he takes that position, if it be true that goods are as cheap in all lines in Canada as they are in the United States, how is it that some people are so silly as to go to all the expense, and risk, fine and imprisonment, in order to smuggle goods which can be obtained just as cheaply in the country itself? Do they smuggle for the mere fun of the thing? Do they risk incarceration in the goals of

...and the loss and imprisonment which the Minister of Customs is so heavily imposing for that? If not, why do they do it for? Is it just for the sake of being caught? It must be just because they like it. Everything is as it was here as over there, and the men are to have the fun of the Minister punishing them. That can be the only reason. Now, we come to look at the effect of the tariff upon

The Farmers.

The Finance Minister was very strong on the subject of the benefit which the tariff has been to the farmers. He pointed out some statistics, and I could not help following him in some of the figures he named, taking certain years to suit himself, but he alleged that we have been able to export on the average of certain years \$9,371,756 per annum more of agricultural products than we did on an average during a certain number of years under the Mackenzie Administration. In addition to that he asserts that he has opened the home market to the farmers to the extent of \$5,500,000 a year; or that they were able to export, in consequence of the operation of the tariff, \$13,000,000 more in the year 1885 than they were in the year 1878. Well, now, what do we understand by an argument of that kind? If it means anything, and if it is to have any force, it must be that the tariff that they imposed for the benefit of the farmer, as they say, has enabled the farmer to raise more product than he could before, or to raise the price of his product in the foreign market; because he has \$12,000,000 worth a year more of product, according to the statement of the hon. gentleman. Does he solemnly say to me that the operation of the tariff has enabled the farmer to grow more wheat or has enabled him to raise the price of that grain in foreign countries? That is the meaning of it, and yet it is impossible to believe that an intelligent man would take that position. I should believe that it is so, if the hon. gentleman told us that, as

one of the effects of his tariff, while in 1878, the oxen were idle in the stall, and the ploughshare was rusting in the field, when he put a duty on agricultural products, the oxen forthwith came out of the stall, and was immediately yoked to the plough again. I do not know where the hon. gentleman got his illustration from. I do not know what part of the country he had been travelling in. In the first place, in 1878, in the portion of the country in which I lived, horses were more in use for ploughing purposes than oxen, and I had fancied that they were largely used for that purpose throughout the Dominion. And, more than that, if it be a fact that some of the farmers did use oxen, and were not engaged in ploughing because ploughing would not pay, that they had abandoned farming because it produced no profits, I still think that the farmers would have had sense enough not to keep an ox in the stall and feed him there, when they could turn him out to graze; because, I submit, Mr. Speaker, for your consideration, the fact that, greatly as this tariff has benefited the agriculturists, and badly off as they were before its introduction, the grass did grow, in 1878, and the ox could have grazed if they had turned him out; also, in 1878, if ploughing did not pay, the farmers had that sense of economy that they would never have left the plough in the field for the share to rust, but would have put it in the barn or the shed where it would have been exposed to no such danger, as the hon. member for Essex knows quite well. So the hon. gentleman is altogether astray in his illustration. I do not know where he has been, but he has been out of Canada, and it does not apply to our country at all. But it struck me, when he allowed his fancy to indulge in that flight, or when he was taking credit for the tariff, that he had found a patent by which his oxen could be set to work with the plough, that he was looking in a direction the way in which he gave us in the opening portion of his speech, when he said that he had succeeded in his present position to

of gallant knight; it struck me that the thought was in his mind: "And why cannot I, too, be Sir Gallant Knight? Is there no way by which Her Majesty's favor can be drawn to me? Is there no way by which, while I hold this position, I can attain to that dignity?" I should say that there is hope for him after the discovery of that patent for setting idle oxen to work by imposing duties on grain of which we raise millions of bushels more than we ever use. The hon. gentleman used another very remarkable illustration, when he said that, if you sell a \$100 bond for \$100 cash, it is better than if you sell it for \$88. That is doubtless great wisdom, but I have an impression that the stupendous mind of Mr. Gladstone has grasped that fact, and that the Minister of Finance is not alone in that idea. And, when he told us that other remarkable thing, which may be unknown to so many, that you cannot build railways and canals without money, though that may not be known to the masses, I think there are other statesmen who have discovered that before him. You cannot look for knight-hood in that way, or in consequence of those discoveries, but let Mr. Gladstone know that the hon. gentleman has discovered that by the imposing of duties on agricultural products, of which we raise millions more than we need and have to send to foreign markets, the farming community have been enriched, the idle oxen have been set to work, and the ploughshare has been fired from rust as it passes through the ground, and there is hope that another gallant knight may yet fill that position. Now, Mr. Speaker, I come to notice the

Concluding Remarks

of the hon. gentleman who preceded me with reference to some statements that have been made by the hon. member for South Huron with reference to the corruption that prevailed amongst members of Parliament and in the country. And he attempted to defend it; nay, he attempted, so far as the members were

concerned, to say that no such thing existed. Well, Sir, I hope and trust it is so, and that a future meeting of the committee may wipe out that dread doubt that has entered into some people's minds that there has been traffic on the part of certain members of Parliament to a greater extent than merely writing a letter for a friend to the Department of the Interior. But, Sir, he attempted to defend the people of the country against the charges that, he said, were levied against them by the ex-Finance Minister, that they were morally and politically blind, because they had seen fit, in 1878, to dispossess him of office and to put them back in office, and he seemed to think it was jealousy on the part of the hon. member for South Huron, and that was the reason why he condemned the people of the country as unable to understand their own best interests. He told us the people saw that. But the people saw more than that, Mr. Speaker. The people saw, in 1878, when they did dispossess that gentleman of power, they saw gentlemen claiming to be men whose words might be taken, whose promises might be relied upon, that if they were to put that gentleman and his colleagues out of position and put them in their places, they would then better the condition of every man, woman and child in this country. The people took them at their word, a portion of the people believed them, and placed them in their position. But, to-day, are those gentlemen willing to rely upon the fulfilment of their promises made to that electorate, in order to secure a return to power? Did they, in 1882, rely upon them? We know what the people of the country know, and what the people saw—that they could not trust themselves, even at that early day, upon the records they had made for themselves, and before they dared to appeal to the electorate they had to gerrymander, in the most cowardly manner, in a manner that was unworthy of men who bear the name of Britons, they had to cut and carve in the constituencies of the great Province of Ontario, in order that Liberals might not be returned and that they themselves

thing trust is of the com- dread doubt people's minds the part of nt to a great g a letter for of the Inter- d to defend against the vied against Minister, that ically blid, 1878, to dis- nt them back ink it was on. member as the rea- people of the rstand their old us the "people saw eaker. The hey did dis- power, they e men whose e promises ey were to e colleagues. m in their r the condi- and child in ok them at eple believed ir position. men willing their prom- in order to- Did they, in know what w, and what uld not trust y day, upon themselves, l to the elec- r, in the mot- er that was the name of urve in the Province of e might not themselves

to stand upon their own records, and then secure a majority for themselves. Not content with that, Sir, they stated to the people, already deceived by them once: "Put us back again, and there are millions and tens of millions of capital waiting to be invested in manufacturing enterprises in this country." I ask them to-day if they can point to those millions. I asked them in 1882, and three years after I ask them again where those millions are that were to be put into large iron works in this country. Where are they? Let them stand up in this House and answer. Sir, they must rise; they must point out where those millions are. It will not do to speak in general terms. We want to know where are the works; we want to know the names of the capitalists; we want to see the effect of it in giving industry and employment in our midst. Sir, I come now to notice what the gentleman who preceded me, himself a Minister of the Crown, did not attempt to answer in reference to the charge that was made by the hon. member for South Huron; and when I recall to your recollection, Mr. Speaker, the omission of that hon. gentleman, you will agree with me, I think, that it will be impossible, before this debate closes, that one of the gentlemen on the Treasury benches shall not get up and answer the charges framed specifically by the hon. member for South Huron against members of the Cabinet themselves, about which the hon. Minister did not say one word. Sir, what were those charges? He talked about what he had said to the representatives, what he had said to the people; he had read the speech and he heard it, but he did not say anything about the statement as to the members of the Cabinet, of which he himself was a member. What was said? You, Mr. Speaker, and the House, will bear in mind that this is no statement made by some irresponsible person upon a meeting or a platform. It is a statement made by a gentleman who has occupied one of the highest positions in this country, as he does yet, and made in the face of the man whom he charges while

he stood within twenty feet of him. These charges must be answered. The Minister of Interior cannot afford to let these charges go unanswered. The Minister of Interior ought not to have stood down, he could not afford to sit down with these charges unanswered by him. I give him another opportunity to do so. What does the hon. member for South Huron charge:

"It has come to pass that to-day, however much we regret it, we are obliged to admit that every second member of the Cabinet has been either the recipient of a testimonial largely subscribed for by public contractors and public employees, or that Ministers have received subsidies granted for the purpose of advancing lines in which they are large shareholders; or that they have been participants, by means of the cloak of a special company created for that special end, in printing contracts and other jobs which they could not have undertaken in their own proper persons without putting their seats in peril; or that they have been recipients of timber limits; and I am sorry to say, as the Cabinet are, so are the majority of their supporters."

Sir, a Minister of the Crown heard that charge, and read that charge. It was more against members of the Cabinet than against the House, and the hon. member for South Huron said he did not blame the members of the House so much as the members of the Cabinet; and we had a Cabinet Minister rising and taking notice of the fact that has been charged against some members of the House, and ignoring, not saying one word of that fearful charge that is brought against members of the Cabinet. Again, the member for South Huron says:—

"Sir, it is a charge that should cause every true Canadian to blush, and it would be idle, it would be criminal in us to conceal our opinion of these things. If they go on a few years, or a few months, may bring the whole Confederation to an abrupt termination. Our duty is to oppose and fight these evils. A short time will tell whether Canada is to shake off the incubus that now presses upon her, or whether Confederation is to rot in its own corruption before it is able to stand alone."

Sir, if such a state of things exists, and

though a state of things is tolerated, that the man who holds the highest position in this land do not deny those charges, then there is danger ahead. We cannot have corruption in high places to that extent. Corruption if it does not exist, must be denied by the members of the Cabinet; if they have not received money subsidies to aid railways with which they are connected and that is charged; if they have not participated indirectly in printing contracts, if they have not been recipients of testimonials subscribed for among others by contractors with whom they have had dealings, then I hold that they cannot ignore the charge. It is made by a gentleman of too high a position, it is made in the Parliament of Canada and to the face of those hon. gentlemen. They must rise in the interests of their party and deny that those charges are true. They will have an opportunity of doing so. I hope they may be able to deny them for the sake of the country. It will be a sad thing if such a charge can be sustained. We have to recognise this fact, that if there be any danger to the nation it does not come to us in the nature of extravagant expenditure, especially in a country like this. We may commit errors of administration, we may have extravagant management of our affairs; but we are a young country and we are a resilient people, and we can surmount evils that come upon us in that direction; but if we are to have, what has been charged upon these gentlemen and yet not denied, corruption in the very highest places in the land, then, Sir, there is a dark outlook for this country. Everything tells us that. I need but remind you, Mr. Speaker, of a nation that was once brought out of slavery by a great deliverer, who was their great law giver and judge, and settled in a goodly land and became one of the most noted nations the world has ever seen. To that nation were given laws by the great law giver and ordinances which were to be observed, given by wisdom greater than any wisdom that man has, and the principals concerned in those laws have formed. I am

happy to say, the back of the laws and Governments of the British Empire, of which it is our boast to form a part. What was the instruction given to the judges and officers that were to rule over that nation by this great law-giver just before he was to lie down and die and leave other men to step into his place. His charge to those occupying in that nation at that time positions similar to the positions occupied by hon. gentleman opposite was :

"Thou shalt judge the people with just judgment. Thou shalt not respect persons—neither take a gift, for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise and pervert the words of the righteous."

The truth of those words no man pretending to belong to the British nation will dare to deny. They were given to that nation in order that it might maintain its record as a nation, in order that it might maintain its existence as a nation. But there crept into that nation corrupt rulers, men filled with the spirit of covetousness, and the great seer of that nation, who saw into the future, and saw that country, that was his glory and his pride, about to be degraded and cast from its high station amongst the nations of the earth, gave utterance to this wail :

"Everyone coveteth gifts and followeth after reward; they judge not the fatherless neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them."

Yes, if you have those hearing rule in high places whose hearts are set on gifts, who followeth after reward, before such men it is vain to plead the cause of the widow and fatherless. If the nation does not heed and by its legislation attend to and promote interests of the poor and defenseless, then the administrators of that nation fail to perform their duty and their continuance in office will lead to the collapse of thery prosperity of the nation.

We must have true men in high places; I speak not in a pharisaical spirit. This charge cannot be answered by: "You are another." I hear people often say,

are all alike. I challenge those who say it to prove the statement. I do not claim for each individual member of the party that there never have been mistakes made or acts done that should not have been done; but I claim that you cannot look over the record of the Reform party and find such record in this respect as you do find in the record of hon. gentlemen opposite. I want to say more, and my remarks to apply in a general way to myself as they do to every member on this side of the House as well as every member opposite. It is the duty of the people of this country, who need not care particularly for one party or the other, it is in their hands to purge out the old leaven of political immorality so that the whole lump may not be leavened by it. If we have gone out of the true path we may thus return to the path of rectitude and purity in the administration of the affairs of the country. If the hon. gentlemen opposite are tried upon their record and found guilty, depose them; if gentlemen who succeed them do not prove true to the public interest, depose them; if the gentlemen who succeed them do no better, depose them; but let the people of the country, those who truly wish to see it maintain its character as a nation see to it that party prejudice no longer blinds their eyes, conscience and judgment, but let justice be meted out. There must be men in the country who, if accused, would rise and repel charges like those made against hon. gentlemen opposite.

Let them be put in the position, and they fall from their high estate, punishing them. The evil is this: If there is corruption in high places it permeates down among the masses of the people till, unfortunately, as the hon. member for South Huron said, the public conscience is deadened till it does not give the answer it should do, till it does not resist the things it should resist as promptly as it should do, and as it would do if it were not tainted by this corruption that I fear, from the fact that it has been charged and not denied, prevails in this country. Sir, we want as the rulers of this land those who will act upon the precepts I have uttered, those who will not run after rewards and look for gifts, but who will recognise that if any special class are to be looked after and their interests promoted it is not the rich and wealthy, but it is the poor as embraced under the head of the widow and fatherless. Sir, we want men in positions who will regard the claims of labor just as readily as they will recognise the claims of capital, that the mechanic and laboring man can gain their eye and have their wishes granted as readily as capitalists and manufacturers. We want men there actuated by noble principles, so that the prayer of the petition of the poor Indian and the Metis of the far West will be as quickly heard and receive as ready a response as the demand of the speculator who may be seeking to deprive him of his land and home.



